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LETTER III.

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MR. CANNING,

ON THE MORALITY AND RELI-CION OF EMPLOYING SPIES AND BLOOD-MONEY MEN.

> London, 10th May, 1820. SIR, sid to sail odl modt

all clear to me what you meant of superstition and bigotry. charge, against the Reformers, dress myself particularly to you,

that they were irreligious men; that they were blasphemers; and that it was principally to their want of religion that their complaints were to be ascribed. Shocking hypocrisy this was, to be sure; but still it took; it had its effect; it assisted Corruption; for, there are hundreds of thou-The lecture, which you gave sands of persons, who will alus, some time ago, on the im- most cut one's throat, if one morality and irreligion of us dares to hint, that they are RADICALS, is still ringing in our wrong on the score of religion, ears. You were alarmed lest upon which subject the most we should " cut morality and foolish of mankind generally, religion from under the feet of think themselves the most wise. future generations," besides era- And I am very certain that bridicating them from the hearts bery and corruption, and all the, of the present race of men. It other sources of our misery, have was, as I stated to you, not at had no ally so firm as this spirit

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by the words morality and reli- It is, therefore, our duty to gion. It appeared to me that, let the people see what your in your view, they included morality and religion mean, and bribery and corruption; but to show this by pointing out the recent remarks on the fitness some of the acts which you jusof hiring spies, developes, in a tify. You have, in your late great measure, the real mean-pamphlet, put yourself forward ing which you attach to those as our accuser; and, therefore, words. The grand battery in an inquiry into the nature and tendency of the morality and reof Corruption has been the ligion of our opponents, I ad-

that on the 2d instant, Mr. Al- AM is reported to have said: derman Wood moved, in the "I am perfectly ready to believe House of Commons, to have "that Edwards was employed EDWARDS, the SPY, brought to the bar of the House. The Alderman stated, that several affidavits had been sworn to before him, asserting that this Edwards, besides having been the grand projector of, and instigator to the Cato-street Conspiracy, had also proposed to others, and urged them to act upon, a scheme for blowing up the Parhiament House; and, it will be observed, that Mr. THISTLEwood, when about to die, declared the same thing. The Alderman, upon having this information communicated to him. communicated it to Sidmouth. the Secretary of State; and he says, that the Secretary did not take any steps to bring Edwards to trial. Indeed, it is very clear, from the Alderman's statement, as well as from the whole tenor of the evidence on the trials. that this Edwards was the chief instigator; that it was he who recommended the plot; that it was he who furnished the pecuniary means.

The motion was, at last, withdrawn, it having met with " and would, of necessity, contisupport from nobody. But, be- " nue to be an odious one. The

The newspapers have told us, fore this took place Mr. Brough-" as a spy, and, like other spies, " did not satisfy himself in giv-" ing information of what he " saw others doing, but went " to work himself to widen the " circle; that he was actively " employed in inciting as well " as espying, and went further " than the line of his instruc-"tions; all this I can easily " imagine. I do not, however, " blame government for employ-"ing spies; for acting upon " their information; for not pro-" ducing them in courts of jus-"tice on particular trials; or " for not prosecuting them for " high-treason afterwards. As "long as society can furnish " such desperate characters as "Thistlewood and Ings, go-" vernment is not only justified, " but bound, to employ such " men as Edwards. He viewed " the case of such men in the " same way in which he should " look at the occupation of the " last officer of the law. So long " as men would commit great " crimes, so long the office of " executioner was necessary,

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"circumstances, then, of the," so far beyond the limit, as to " case, had called for the em- " have actually instigated men "ployment of spies; to which " to great and grave offences. "he would only wish to add "the interests of justice would "one limitation. He who did "not be satisfied if he were not " employ them had a grave, a " difficult, a responsible under-" taking on his hands: he stood " deeply answerable to his coun-" try, and to the administration " of justice, if he did not use "the utmost possible caution "that he employed those who " would give him information " only, and not practice arts of " instigation upon others. The " existence of desperate charac-"ters, like Thistlewood and "Ings, made it justifiable and " necessary to employ, some-" times, such wretches as spies; " but the excesses of Thistle-" wood and Ings surely made it " equally unnecessary to em-" ployinstigators of fresh crimes. "(Hear.) He confessed that " he was not disposed to join in " the common clamour and vul-" gar outery against spies, sec-" ing that frequently they were " proper and necessary instru-"ments. If it should be made " to appear, indeed, that this " man had gone beyond the of-" fice of informer to become an

" either immediately brought to "trial, or some explanations " given, to satisfy the country " that measures had been adopt-"to prevent his withdrawing " from the reach of justice on "the question of these new " charges brought against him." "Mr. CANNING .- The Hon. " and Learned Gentleman seem-" ed to have collected what he " (Mr. Canning) was sure the " House had not—that there " was a disposition on the part " of some Honourable Members " to treat the whole affair with " levity and ridicule. Really he " had not seen any such dispo-" sition. He was sure that no "such disposition had been ma-" nifested, either by himself or his Honourable Friends about " him. As little could he plead " guilty to the other charge, of " a predisposition to accuse the "Hon. and Learned Gentleman " of joining the popular cry ugainst informers, a subject on " which the Hon. and Learned " Gentleman had just made the " most just and manly observa-"tions. He could assure the Ho-" nourable and Learned Gentle-" man that he never entertained " such a predisposition; and, if "instigator of sedition; if it "he had, it must have been en-"should appear that he went " tirely removed by the Ho-

" nourable and learned gentle- | tion, " which is the envy of " man's candid statement of his " surrounding nations and the " opinion. " without wishing to add a sin- stands in need of spies to pre-" gle word to it, he was per- serve it, the laugh would be " feetly content to rest the de- misplaced, for all the world is " fence, not only of the present, laughing at the boast itself " or of any particular Govern- without this pretty companion-" ment, but of all Governments piece. Of the policy of employ-"that had ever existed in this ing spies a good deal might be " or in any other civilized said; and something I may say, " country, for taking the means by-and-by; but, on that part of " which circumstances rendered " necessary to defeat, by the that spies, as well as fortified " prostitution of wicked men, " the plots of men as wicked."

Now, here we have the whole doctrine out. with your leave, examine it a Reform of the House of Comlittle. This is a specimen of mons. And, I hold it to be a your morality and religion; proof of the greatest folly, or of and, as such, we will take a the greatest hypocrisy, for any view of it. As a matter con- man, who is not decidedly for a nected with the character of the real Reform, to complain of any government and the country it of these measures. In a letter, is hardly worth notice. It is which I addressed to Lord useless, also, to dwell on the FOLKSTONE, in July, 1817, I circumstance, that the employ- shewed how absurd his conduct ment of spies was one of the was in opposing the Absolutethings, which the English na- Power-of-Imprisonment tion used to hold most in ab- and in complaining, or pretendhorrence, and for doing which ing to complain of the deeds the Bourbon Government used perpetrated under it; while he, in our books and news-papers, at the same time, most cordially to be held up to detestation; joined in opposing Reform, from and though one might laugh at which opposition the dungeon, the assertion, that a constitu- the gag, and the spy-system

On that statement, "admiration of the world," the subject I shall only say here, barracks and banishment for libel and all the other new measures, and even harsher measures are And, we will, necessary, unless there be a

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were, in my opinion, insepara- arms; banishment for libel;

in the promptness of their apit what he would) become pre-Government was. Whether this was correct or otherwise, whether we have, since the summer of 1817, not made some pretty end, the public can very easily form a correct judgment.

The public think with me upon this point. Some are against a Reform; but all agree,

and the employment of spies: I then said, that, if it were the whole of the people agree, resolved not to refuse Reform, that, unless a Reform take place, those measures were absolutely all these are necessary; and necessary; and that, therefore, therefore it is. that the WHIGS it was inconsistent, stupid, and are so unpopular and so much factions to blame the Ministers despised throughout the counfor adopting the measures, if he try. There are two systems; joined them in the refusing of one concession to the people; Reform. Nay, I then said, that, the other of repulsion of the if the Power-of-Imprisonment people and a governing of them Bill should be repealed, some by mere force. The Whigs are other measure equally restrictive decidedly against the former, and coercive must be adopted; and pretend to be against the and that, in short, these mea- latter, when all the world sures must go on regularly in- knows, that one or the other creasing in their severity, in the must be pursued. And, thereextent of their operation, and fore, while the WHIGS are hated by the corrupt for their affected plication, until the thing (call love of lenity, they are hated by the Reformers for their hostility cisely what the Old Bourbon to reform and for their hypocritical affectation of dislike to harsh measures; while, it is also evident, that, if they had the inclination to do good, they do bold strides towards this amiable not possess the talent to do it.

The people have long seen, that there is, in fact, no Opposition in the Parliament as far as relates to what the people need care a straw about; and, if they that, if Reform be not granted, had not seen this clearly before, a thundering standing army with they would certainly see it now; fortified barracks; an armed for you and the " gentlemen yeomanry; power to search for opposite" perfectly agree as to

even in parliament, that EDwards had been employed by the government to act as a spy; and, just as this was coming out, the "gentleman opposite" makes a regular instification of the employment of epies; and you, as one of the Ministers, thank him for the MANLY declaration of his sentiments! It required a good deal of manliness, to be sure, to make this declaration in a place where there was not one single soul, no, NOT ONE, to atter a single syllable in answer to him, and where the disgraceful and horrid facts stated by Mr. ALDERMAN WOOD had been treated with ridicule. It required a deal of manliness, to be sure; almost as much as it did in Mr. ADOLPHUS (in his defence of Mr. Thistlewood) to extol the Ministers, and especially the Chancellor, to the skies, and to declare that he himself was an enemy to all designs for unhinging any part of the frame of the Constitution. Great manliness, to be sure; but let that these and many other powers pass, and let us come to the for the protection of the governmorality and religion of the declaration.

this question relating to spies! persons that it may suspect of It appeared likely to come out, intentions inimical to it, these persons being living under this same government, and subject to all the ordinary restraints and penalties of the law, By a spy something is meant more than a watcher; mind that. The case before us is, indeed, a case of aiding, of abetting, of incitement, of instigation, of shewing how, of furnishing the means, and, indeed, of paying men to be conspirators. But, we will take your spy in his least odious, least detestable light. A Spy must, even in this light, be something more than a watcher, more than a looker-after, more than a finder-out; for, all these offices are performed by persons known to the law. There are the constables, watchmen, justices, judges, jurors, and others. There is the power of taking up on suspicion; there is the power of committing on suspicion; there is the power of taking up and committing to compel people to give an account of the way in which they live. There are all ment against conspirators and traitors. And, these are quite You say, that it is right in a enough for any good governgovernment to employ spics upon ment; because it is a proposi-

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must know, before he undertakes the office, that the blood of the persons who confide in confidence; and, as he must be money that he takes is the price

tion that no man will venture to the functions and motives of a deny, that nearly the whole of Spy? Deny it if you can, Sir. the people will always set their Are, then, are his acts and mofaces against men, who shall tives moral and religious? Say attempt to conspire against a if you dare. And yet, unless good government, which they you be willing to go this length. must necessarily desire to up- how are you to justify a government in the employing of Spies? A spy, then, is to do some- It is a rule of the law as well as of thing more than all this; for all reason, that " he who does athing this work of watching, detect- by another, does it himself." If ing, denouncing and suspecting I hire another to lie, to betray, the law takes care to provide to shed blood; I myself am a for, and that, too, without en- liar, a traitor and murderer. couraging any thing wicked in And a government is more its agents. But a spy must do wicked than its spy: because wicked acts. He must, to effect the spy may be, and generally his business, be guilty of deli-is, under the strong temptations berate lying. He must pretend occasioned by misery and by to be himself a conspirator, for sharp-biting hunger. The goinstance, in order to get at the vernment has, too, more time secrets of conspirators. He for deliberation and reflection; must make the most solemn de- and, observe, that the Spy, clarations of his devotion to when he has once touched the them and their cause. And, he thirty pleces of silver, dares not must do all this with a settled retreat, whatever his conscience resolution to betray the persons may tell him, knowing that his that have confided in him. He own life is not safe for a day, unless he succeed in his perfldy!

What, then, you will ask, are conspiraries to go on, till they him is to be the price of their have "destroyed the government?" No: if the government be paid, he must know, that the worthy of support, they will not go on, even if they have begun. of that blood. The many-eyed people will not Is this a true description of fail to see then in time. Con-

rents, children, bosom friends, imputes wickedness to him.as all other people have; and, if the government be good, try, that will mislead very few these will, some of them, interfere in time. Besides, the government, you will observe (and) it is material to observe it) has information about the disaffected parties, before it sets its Spy to work. So that, it can, without the aid of a Spy, proceed to adopt measures of prevention. . The Spy is employed, not to prevent crime, but to get at blood ! First to get at proof of crime; and then to insure the shedding of blood. And is it moral and religious to give employment of this sort? Is this a specimen of that morality and religion, which you told the assembled oafs at Liverpool the Reformers were about " to cut from under the feet of future generations?" Is this a specimen of that morality and religion, which you said the Reformers wanted to "eradicate from the human heart?"

Mr. BROUGHAM compared a Spy to a Hangman; represented both as being odious, but both as being necessary. Now, the policy of employing spies. We Hangman tells no lies; he be- will say nothing about the oditrays nobody; he sells no man's ousness and the infamy of an

spirators must have wives, pa- agreeable office; but no man This, therefore, is mere sophisindeed. And, as to the observation, that such men as Edwards are necessary as long as there are such men as Thistlewood and Ings, it is as much as to say, that such men as Edwards are always necessary; for, there will always be such men as Thistlewood and Ings: or, at least, a government may always say that there are such. If he had said, that there must always be Edwardses employed after such an affair as that at Manchester, he would have been a little more to the point; for, both these men declared, and the crown-witnesses swore, that the affair of Manchester screwed them up to the resolution of doing what they contemplated.

The question, as far as relates to morality and religion, is, I think, pretty well settled. You are welcome to the honour of such morality and such religion. The Radical creed is precisely the opposite of yours. And, now, a word or two as to the blood. He performs a very dis intercourse between a govern-

liness of such an intercourse; but, will ask, whether it is likely to tend to the safety of a government, especially in a country, where it has always been held in the greatest abhorrence.

In the first place, the adopnot conscious guilt in a government, at least consciousness of being deeply hated by a considerable part of the people. To listen secretly is always regarded as a proof of conscious unworthiness. To eves-drop is a crime. Nothing is truer, than that listeners seldom hear any good of themselves; and certain it is, they never ought. The very act of employing a spy, argues a consciousness of being hated and the existence of danger from that hatred. Disguise the matter how we may, to employ a spy argues both guilt and fear. The thing is so odious and detestable in its very name, that no impulse short of a dread of destruction will induce men many men too, who would ex- it. " suck the orange, and throw pose their throats to a thou- "away the peel." Nothing was, sand knives, rather than sit and, I dare say, is, more com-

ment and the venders of human one single moment in council blood; we will say nothing with such a man as Edwards. about the meanness and dastard- Now, Sir, whatever you may think of the matter, no government ever insured its safety by giving cause to believe, that it was full of fears for that safety.

Then, in the next place, there are the used spies to be provided for. If, indeed, these would tion of a Spy-system argues, if have the complaisance to die, as silk-worms do, or undergo a transfiguration, the matter might not be difficult. But, they wish still to live, and to live well too. They may, indeed, be sent to foreign countries; but, they may not choose to remain there. At any rate, they may divulge, and even publish all the secret transactions with their employers; and, to pay them for doing this would be highly meritorious; as it was in the President of the United States to pay CAPT. HENRY, whom you remember, I dare say, for divulging the history of his mission from Canada to the United States! The old French government and the Italian governments used to be accused of disto resort to it; and, there are, I patching their spies; or as the. hope, men in the world, and old king of Prussia used to call

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those, of course, belonging to They must change their nature the holy alliance,) than to have before they can be trusted by spies murdered privately, and their employers. buried privately, after they have serve no more in the capacity of done their business! Indeed, spy. They are like a last-year's this appears to be a natural end almanack as to their employer's to the undertaking; for who benefit; but, they may betray can trust such villains, while him, and in that case the use of they have life in them? And, them is langful; for then they who can believe, that a man, or set of men, who can buy the blood of other men of may come back to his native spies, will scruple, in the least, land. He may talk; he may to take the blood of the spies write; he may do a hundred themselves? We know that it is very common, in some parts of vernment than were the con-Europe, for rich men to employ poor starving creatures, to waylay and stab persons whom they wish to destroy; and, when this is done, to get the stabbers into some place, where the rich men and their friends murder them snugly, and bury them in some cellar, or other private hole.

This is the short way and the sure way to deal with spies; and I defy you and Mr. Brougham both together, to find out any thing that shall be a justification of the employment of spies, which shall not serve as a in Mr. Brougham's Education justification for the murdering of spies when they have done their work.

mon in some countries, (not | their names. This is very little. They can are accomplices. Change of conntries is not much. A spy things more dangerous to a gospirators, whose blood he has sold to that government. No change but change of shape will do. The spy must be turned into dust, or his employer can never be safe. He must wholly disappear; and to make him do that, there is but one way.

There are, you see, Sir, some nice points of morality and religion, which naturally arise out of the doctrine, boldly put forward by Mr. Brougham, and as boldly applauded by you. But, Digest I hope we shall have the doctrine clearly laid down and fully illustrated. His is to be, it It is said, they may change seems, a general plan of Eduittle.

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lowest, from the papa in spectacles to the baby on the knee. The " Dames' Schools" are, I understand, to be particularly attended to. In his grammatical rudiments he may give them a fine instance from the king's speech, delivered to both Houses the other day; and may show the pupils of the " Dames" the beauty of our language, when it drops from the pens of great men; as thus: " Have secured " to the British nation the en-" joyment of a larger share of " practical freedom, as well as of " prosperity and happiness, than " have falleu to the lot of any "other nation in the world."

This will be a fine opportunity for him to show how elegantly and correctly the "Higher Orders" can write. He may, in order to illustrate the meaning of practical freedom, give a short account of the six acts and of those of 1817. He may touch upon prison-discipline, upon the New Treason Bill, upon the Soldier-seducing Bill, upon the Barrack and Military College System, upon the Alien Laws, the cheap - publication Act, the Search-for-arms Act, Public-meetings Act, and innu- ject. I see, by the debate of

cation. He proposes to teach merable other matters, connectus all, from the highest to the ed with " practical freedom," never forgetting the affair of Manchester, and not skipping over that fine specimen (though in a small way) of " practical " freedom," by which a man, at Bolton, in Lancashire, was taken up, and held to bail, for having gone round the town to announce, that " William Cobbett " was arrived at Liverpool in good health."

But, what I, and, I believe, the public in general, are on tiptoe for, is that part of the " Digest" which will treat, and, doubtless, most fully, of the justice and necessity of a government employing spies to bring men to the block or the gallows. The "Digest" ought to be very ample upon this subject; and, if it be not, I, for one,

shall be cruelly disappointed. In conclusion, Sir, I beg leave to call your attention to some remarks, which I subjoin, on the death of Maggenis. And, dos you really believe, that the people of England are now to becajoled by such tricks as those, which were played at Chester over this man? Think a little! Look round the world, and ask yourself, whether it be possible for suchtricks to succeed amongst the countrymen and contemporaries of Thistlewood, Ings, Brunt, and Tidd. If you answer the question in the affirmative, you are far more " dcluded" than any portion, or any man, of those, whom you call " the deluded people."

One word on a different sub-

the 8th, that LORD MILTON actly foretold those very effects of (Burke's Corinthian Pillar) begins to think, that we may not be able to pay the Fundholders in specie, after all! Indeed! He says, that he does not think it just that the Fundholder should receive more than he lent! He does not see, perhaps, that Mortgagees, Annuitants on lands, and all lenders, are in the same advantageous state! Ah! the Bill (Mr. Peel's Bill) of last year, has made a pretty mess of the thing! Mr. BARING doubts, too, whether we can get along with that Bill! And even " the ORACLE" appears to have his scruples! Mr. BARING says, that he thinks he shall bring the subject forward to the House. next session, at latest; and I know that I shall bring it forward to him, next week! This The Six Acts is the subject. will do nothing here. If I had been in parliament, I should have shown you the way out of the labyrinth before this day. Intrigue, bloody violence, bribery and perjury have kept me out; and, perhaps, all is for the best. I shall now propose nothing; but shall "disport myself" in observing on what passes. Come, come, Sir! Don't be conceited. Read my "Letter to Tierney," written in Long "years of the system," says Island in 1818. I told him that PAINE. " that all the great I addressed it to him merely to "shocks will be felt." Do we give it a name to be known and not feel them now? And how distinguished by. There you much wiser a man would Mr. will find the truest prophesy PEEL have been, if his father, (except in the Bible you know) instead of bidding him listen to that ever was put into print. PITT, had taught him to read I have not a single copy of it PAINE! Where is now, Sir, in the world, or, I would send " that glorious sun of prosperiyou one. You will there see ex- ly' which, in 1816, you said was

attempting to pay in specie, that If any one we now witness. will send me a copy of this Letter to Tierney, I will republish it next week, to do which the Sixpenny Pamphlet Act affords me the easy means. mean while " the Ladies at Huddersfield" are subscribing to give grand dinners to the "non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the 4th Dragoon Guards and the 85th regiment," as a reward for their "meritorious services during the late alarm." And the " respectable inhabitants of Oldham" are about to do the same! This will thicken the mess famously. Soldiers are no fools! They will well understand what these caresses all mean. However, let it go on; and let you and I look after the affairs of morality, religion, and cash-payments. You will remember what I said: that the two Houses had resolved unanimously, and had enacted, that the Bank should pay in specie; and that, if it did pay in specie, I would suffer myself to be broiled alive. I stand to my word, and, I can clearly see that my opponents, "Oracle". and all, begin to shuffle and " It is in the last twenty twist.

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behind a cloud?"-But, I must Plenty of occasions will offer for addressing you. I am not in Parliament, but, I am resolved that by the means of this work and my Parliamentary Register, the proceedings, for this session at least, shall be well understood .-- The debate of the 9th has just met my eye.— Sir F. Burdett has once more merited your anger. I hail this as the beginning of good. The people's gratitude is due to Mr. Alderman Wood.

Yours, &c. WM. COBBETT.

DEATH OF MAGGENIS.

Such multitudes of sentences and of executions meet our ears and eyes now-a-days, that they attract little attention. We hear of trials for " sedition, blasphemy, and treason;" of convictions, fines, imprisonments, hangings and quarterings, with feelings much like those, with which we hear, or read, of the killed and wounded in land or sea battles, after a war has been going on for some time. In this latter case the General Officers only are named. The historians, or reporters, content themselves with giving us merely the numbers of the rank and file. This 18 pretty much the case now with regard to the killed, wounded, and captured Radicals, of whom there are, per-

"merely hidden, for a moment, haps, at this moment, some hundreds in prison, or under conviction, or under indictment, or under bonds to appear to be tried. It would be an useful thing to get and publish a list of their names, their imputed crimes, their sentences (if sentenced), and any other circumstances belonging to them, or their cases. History, as it is called, is generally a great liar. It suppresses all that is displeasing to power. But, we now live in times that give a chance of improvement; and, if we collect and put on record, facts, they will be sure to be greatly useful.

MAGGENNIS, or M'INNIS, or whatever his real name was, who was lately executed at CHESTER, has been made a subject of most curious state. ment on the part of the corrupt press, especially as relates to religion. This young man was, it appears, an Irishman. He was living at STOCKPORT at the time when BIRCH, the policeman, took down Mr. HARRISON from London. A crowd assembled round Birch in the street, and somebody shot him, wounded him, but did not kill him, and the man is now alive.

The offence was imputed to

and also to MAGGENIS as an accomplice. They were both tried before JUDGE WARREN, at the last Chester Assizes, found guilty and condemned to be hanged. These men have been, by the corrupt press, called, up to this day, murderers and assassins. That they were neither is notorious; for nobody was killed; and, according to law, to constitute a murder, there must be a killing: the party attacked must actually be dead. As to assassination, it means murder, and something more. It means a private and vindictive killing to satisfy private revenge. Yet the foolish and corrupt press of this country, which is just as bad as that of France under a Bourbon Censorship, calls, now-a-days, every thing assassination, which is committed by those who are called Radicals, and which consists of physical violence of any sort, or in any degree. The moment a man is seen with a pike in his hand, or even in his house, he is called an assassin.. The Scots Radicals, who fought the troops in-the open field, were called rebels; but they were called assassins too.

a Mr. Bruck, a school-master, | land do not yet know any thing of assassination; and they allow nothing to be murder, unless there be an actual killing: there must be proof of a death. or else there can be no murder. Yet, though Birch is alive, two men have been condemned to die for the shooting of him! How can this be? Why, the late JUDGE ELLENBOROUGH brought an act into Parliament, which was passed, to make it death to cut, stab, wound, and so forth, with intent to kill. This is called the " Ellenborough Act:" and, under this act, these two men were tried, convicted, and condemned. Bills of indictment have been presented against several of the Yeomanry Cavalry, who acted at Manchester on the 16th of August; but, those bills have all been thrown out by the Grand Juries; which shews, that there may be cases when it is not criminal to cut and wound, and even to kill. But, the case before us was, of course, not one of those.

According to the "Ellenborough Act," then, BRUOK and MAGGENTS were accused and found guilty. But let it always be kept in mind, that they were However, the laws of Eng. not guilty of murder; and that

thing only about fifteen years

ago, their punishment would

not, and could not, have been

death; and, I believe, nothing

more than fine and imprison-

ment. And yet, from the mo-

ment that the shooting of Birch

was heard of, up to this day,

the crime of murder, and even

that of assassination, have been,

from one end of the kingdom to

the other, imputed to these

men! Many persons thought:

I thought: and, I dare say, the

people in general thought, that

Birch was dead! We were told

that a pension of a hundred a-

year was settled by the Prince

on Birch's widow! We were

told of a message of condolence

to her from the Prince of Saxe-

Cobourg! In short, I thought

the man was dead; and I be-

lieve ninety-nine hundredths of

the people thought the same.

But now, behold, after the cor-

rupt press has had the benefit

of his death; after the "wi-

dow," as they called her, has

got the pension, and a pension,

too, equal to that of a general

officer's widow; after the Radi-

charges of murder and assasi-

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if they had done the very same | merry as PLATT, who was " murdered and assassinated" by Young Warson, and who tried hard for, but did not get, a pension!

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Having thus placed Mag-GENIS's deed in its true light, I now proceed to notice some statements of the corrupt press, relative to his conduct, during the last days of his life. BRUCE had always been charged with the shooting of the Police-man, and Maggenis with aiding and abetting Bruce. When they had been found guilty, Maggenis told the Court, that he, and he alone, had done the deed, though the witnesses had shewn Bruce to be the most guilty man. MAGGENIS declared BRUCE to be wholly innocent, not only of the act of shooting, but of all participation in it, and all knowledge of the intention to do the deed.

Not to applaud, and even admire, this act, one would think to be next to impossible. It was an act of pure, unadulterated virtue. It was being just at the certain expence of all chance of escaping death. Both cals have had to bear the were found guilty; both would be condemned; but one's life nation for six months; after all might, and probably would, be this, Birch is as alive and as spared. Nay, there was every

reason to believe, that this there was nothing but a plain would be the case, as there had been no murder committed. And, as the aider and abbettor. which the evidence had showed MAGGENIS to be, was the least criminal of the two, his was the life to spare. Yet, in spite of all these considerations, he bravely avowed the deed, and took the whole of the offence upon himself, saying: " it was I who did the deed: let me suffer if you will: but put not this innocent man to death."

If any man has ever witnessed a more truly virtuous and noble act than this, I should be glad to be informed of it; and yet we read, in the newspapers, that WARREN, the Judge, when he passed sentence, spoke of this avowal as an aggravation of Maggenis's offence, and as a reason for shortening the short period of his remaining existence! It is not said, indeed, that Judge WARREN found fault of the avowal itself; but of the bold and daring manner of it. Not having been present, it is impossible for me to say, how MAGGENIS looked and what tone of voice he used on the occasion; but, as far as his reported words go, even according to the FIDELS! The COURIER, in the

and positive declaration, that he alone did the deed, and that Bruce had nothing at all to do with it: and this, I repeat, was as virtuous and noble an act as ever was performed by mortal man. It was giving up all. chance of preserving life, rather than suppress the truth: it was actually preferring death to the doing of an act of injustice: it was scorning life secured by the death of an innocent man, though that man was neither relation. friend, nor even acquaintance: it was a deed, to surpass which nothing is to be found in the annals of greatness of mind.

This appears to have been perceived, too, by the Corrupt Press, which two words mean a great mass of infamy. This press, after afew days of reflection, appears to have perceived, that this brave and generous act on the part of a "Radical Assassin," as they had so long been calling him, would cause it to be believed, that there was, at bottom, something good and great belonging to the Radicals. Besides, they had taken uncommon pains to represent both MAGGENNIS and BRUCE as INversion of the corrupt press, very same page that it recorded

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and said: " thus it always hapby being a murderer. Unbe-" assassination." And then he went on to shew, that this history of Magennis afforded a specimen of the Radical creed, and of the effects of it.

This was altogether false in fact; for, in the first place, there was no murder; and, in the next place, we always find real murderers extremely religious as soon as sure of death. The woman, who murdered her mistress lately in Warwickshire, was deeply read in religion and far gone in grace, as they call it, unless, indeed, she died with a lie on her lips. The man, who so shockingly murdered Bonner and his wife, said, at the gallows, that, in a few moments, he should be in the bosom of his Saviour. And this is notoriously uniformly the case with bloody and selfish and cruel murderers. Then, in some other countries, is it not well known, that murderers and assassins run into Churches and Convents, and implore the protection of the Priests, who give it them, and

the arowal of Maggennis, as- of money? Will the Courier serted, that he was an Infidel; deny this? And, will he say, that this makes any part of the "pens; the Infidel always ends "Radical creed?" Let it be borne in mind, too, that Mr. "lief is the sure forerunner of BELLINGHAM, who killed PER-CEVAL, sent for his Common Prayer Book, the moment he got into prison. So that he was not only a religious man, but a Church of England man into the bargain! We know that two kings of France were stabbed; and we also know, that the stabbers were not only religious men, but priests, and not only priests, but priests avowing that they were actuated by a zeal for religion. CROMWELL and his fellow-labourers were, we all know, some of the most religious men that ever lived. They did nothing without a prayer to begin with. Whether they bilked a bawd, or killed a king, they began with a long prayer. So that this doctrine of the Courier, that Infidelity is the cause of murder and assassination is wholly destitute of foundation.

Therefore, the facts are false; but, then there came this fact; namely, that Infidelity induced a man to make the avowal that MAGGENIS made! Infidelity, if the COURIER had spoken truth wash them of the sin for a sum about Magennis's creed, had

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generous act of scorning life, if most honourable, the most geheld by the suppressing of a truth, which justice demanded! Yea; this Infidel had said: " I " can live; but I will die, rather "than suffer an innocent man " to die for me." This was something, which, upon reflection, the Corrupt Press did not like to suffer to go forth to the world. This was an ugly tale for the out-criers against " blasphemy" to send forth amongst the " deluded people." The public, all of whom can now read, would reason upon the and, in the course of only a whole of the interesting story; and the result of their reason- penitent, and almost a saint, of ing would be this: " either the this identical MAGGENNIS! How " Corrupt Press has told a false- they have gone to work to do " hoad to blacken the Radicals, this, it is my business now to " in asserting MAGGENIS to have relate; and, as the reader pro-" been an Infidel; or, Infidelity ceeds, he will certainly think " is compatible with the purest himself carried back to the time, " morality and most heroic vir-" tue." Nay, MAGGENIS was, Monks were cheating the peothe Courier said, not only an unbeliever, but an Atheist! " Shocking to relate," exclaimed the pious scribe, " this " wretched man does not be-"lieve in the existence of a poor, " debuded" creatures and "God!" This was going far their children. Since the fall beyond Mr. PAINE, who most of Napoleon, monstrous efforts

inhabited the same mind that | God. So that here is even au was capable of the great and Atheist acting, on his trial, the nerous, the most noble, the most virtuous part that man ever acted.

The inferences, so obviously growing out of these facts, the Corrupt Deluders appear quickly to have perceived. The inferences must, indeed, have forced themselves upon their own minds, and, of course, they would conclude, that the same operation would take place in the minds of others. Therefore they speedily tacked about; few days, made a convert, a when the fat, lazy, rascally ple by selling their miracles. and by receiving payment in the bread, cheese, eggs, butter and bacon, that ought to have gone into the bellies of the eloquently urges the belief in a have been made, by despots

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and priests, to regain the ground French Revolution. The Pope lost no time in recognizing the Jesuits; the Holy Inquisition found apologists in Protestant Priests; and, monstrous to relate, even the Calvinistical Priests of New England joined in processions and other gaudy shows to commemorate the reexaltation of " Anti-Christ," and " the Whore of Babylon." What could be the cause of this? What could induce these protestant priests to rejoice, to exult, to be half mad with joy, at events, which restored the Pope and the Inquisition? Come, ye hypocrites! Nome of your shuffling! None of your lies! Give an answer. " Any religion is better than none." Oh! it is, is it? It is better that "Anti-Christ" should exist; it is better that " the Whore of Babylon, drunk with the blood of the saints," should resume her place and power, than that the people formerly under her power, should live without any quarrelling, or burning, for religion's sake? This is what you say, is it? You will find, in a very few years, that your real motives are not only seen into; but that they will be com- save time and space in quoting pletely defeated.

To return to Maggenis, I which had been lost by the shall now insert, from the Cou-RIER news-paper, an account of this almost miraculous conversion. I beg the reader to go through the whole very attentively; and to notice particularly the passages, which I have marked by italick characters; for, ir is clear to me, that a deep scheme is laid to make out of this matter a humbug of great extent and influence. It will fail; but, in order to make it fail, it must be detected and exposed. The Courier takes, or pretends to take, its information from the " Chester Courant," which is one of those vehicles. which the Corrupt encourage and support in the Country parts of the kingdom, and which are even more slavish and detestably base than the grand vehicles of Corruption in London. I have not the smallest doubt, that the whole is a hatched story from the beginning to the end. The name of Keeling is mentioned; but, who is he? What is he? Where are his vouchers? Who was witness of any of the scenes ? However, let us hear the story first, and then let us make our remarks on it. I have numbered the paragraphs, that I may them as I proceed.

"1. It will be recollected |" dual in question, immediately " when, in our last, we noticed "the passing sentence on M'In-" nis, we adverted to the insen-" sibility and hardihood of the " prisoner, who, upon the con-" clusion of the Chief Justice's " address, replied, in the ac-" cents of bravado, to the Bench. " 'Thank you, my Lord, it is a "good cure for a spinning in "the head.' Of his subsequent " behaviour, in the intermediate " space between his condemna-" tion and execution, it is in our power to furnish some parti-" culars, for which our readers, " considering the above, as a " specimen of his moral condi-" tion, will be quite unprepared, " and which must prove as gra-" tifying as they are extraor-" dinary. We beg to add, " that the following details rest " on an authority unquestion-" able, being communicated by " a pious gentleman, who had " constant access to him in his " cell during the period of " which we now particularly " speak, and whose Christian " zeal and perseverance, in " bringing him to a suitable " sense of his awful condition, " are as commendable, as his " efforts were successful.

" on the removal of MInnis " from the bar, after his convic-" tion, on the evening of Satur-" day week, followed him to his " cell, and humanely offered his " services, to assist him in his " devotions, and a preparation " for the fate that awaited him. " Mr. Keeling's proposal was " met by the prisoner with the " most determined repulsion; " he blasphemed in the most " horrid manner; said, that his " sufferings would soon termi-" nate; was sure, that when his "body was dead, his being " would be annihilated; and de-" clared, that in the mean time, " the Almighty had neither the "power to save or to destroy " him.

3. "On the following day (Sunday) Mr. Keeling renewed "his visit, but no improvement "was visible in his moral con-" dition. On being asked, whe-"ther he would permit prayer " to be made by him, he sternly "refused; observing, 'that he " detested preaching and priest-" craft, and that he would have " none of it; that he was an " Atheist, and was determined " to leave the world with the " persuasion, that no Supreme 2, "Mr. Keeling, the indivi- "Power existed.' Before the

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" the Christian system, and to " the expostulations, which with " a feeling solicitude, he ad-"dressed to him; and finally " admitted, that if Mr. K.'s doc-" trine was correct, he was lost " for ever.

4. "On Monday morning, "M'Innis received sentence of " death, and was apprized, that " the law would be executed " upon him on the following " Saturday. Mr. Keeling again " attended him; he found him " neither surprized, nor appa-" rently appalled. During this " conversation, M'Innis's con-" fidence in his infidel princi-" ples seemed to be staggered, "when Mr. Keeling pressed " home with redoubled energy "the truths of Christianity; " and with such effect as pro-"duced an acknowledgment, " that possibly it might be true. "He now consented that his "spiritual adviser should pray " with him; he seemed for the " first time to join in devotional "exercise; on rising from his "knees, he evidently appeared "the profane may be disposed

"close of this interview, how-|" ed that Mr. Keeling would "ever, M'Innis became some- "soon repeat his visit. Ac-"what more disposed to listen |" cordingly at four o'clock in " to the evidences which his " the afternoon of the same day, "friend adduced in support of "that gentleman attended him, " when he expressed an earnest " wish to be corrected if he had " embraced error. On this oc-" casion, the unhappy man ap-" peared more cordially to enter "into the spirit of devotion, " and wept. When leaving him, " Mr. Keeling obtained a pro-" mise, that he would address "himself to God in private " prayer; and with this as-" surance, Mr. Keeling departed. 5. "We do not think it need-" ful to make any further ob-" servation here, than to remark, " that it was in reference to this " precise period that the follow-" ing letter alludes, in the de-" scription it gives of his con-" flict, after bowing his knee in " private. This letter was writ-" ten on the following day; and " addressed to a young woman " of his acquaintance in Stock-" port. We copy it exactly as "written, only correcting the "orthography: - (This letter " has already appeared in a " Courier.) 6. " However the infidel or

"more thoughtful, and request- " to treat the scene described

" above, as the visionary frenzy " of fanaticism or delusion, we " dare not deny to it the genuine " marks of a divine interposi-"tion, vouchsafed in an extra-" ordinary manner, upon an ex-" traordinary occasion. There " was nothing in the character " or manners of the man to jus-"tify en imputation that his " sensations of horror were pro-"duced from previous weak prepossessions or prejudices; for these leaned all in an op-" posite direction; nor from the " impulse of fear arising from " his approaching dissolution, as " neither before nor after this " occurrence, did he ever betray " the slightest symptoms of reluctance to meet his fate. Mr. " Keeling was called in to visit him in his distress of soul, (not " having left him above an hour " before) and found him pros-" trate on the floor of his cell, " weeping, and most bitterly re-" proaching himself for his in-" fidelity and wickedness; and " fruits of that design. All the " now beholding in him the "character of a true penitent. directed him to the Lamb of "God that taketh away the sins "gion, were occupied in pre-" of the world. From this hour " paring a memoir of his life, "the rays of hope beamed upon " or rather of the more promihis heart—the gloom of scep- " nent causes and consequences "ticism receded from his coun- " of his erroneous principles,

" tenance; and with a cheerful " submission which could only " be inspired by a well-grounded " hope of a better world, he de-" voted his few remaining days " to religious purposes.

7. " There was one prominent " feeling that seemed greatly to " afflict him, namely, the injury " he had done to many of his " acquaintances, by instilling " into their minds his infidel " principles, exclaiming, 'What " multitudes have I been the in-" strument of ruining !-How " shall I make reparation for " the injury I have done!' His " judicious adviser recommend-" ed him to state his present " altered views and convictions " in writing which he would " engage to see published, con-" ceiving that the declarations " of a dying man would be likely " to have influence with those " whose minds he had contami-To this he consented ; " nated. " and the above letter is the first " remaining hours of his life, " that were not employed in the " more immediate acts of reli-

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" which is now in the possession ! " of Mr. Keeling, and which, " rangement by a pious clergy-" man of the establishment, will " be given to the world in the

" form of a pamphlet. 8. "That we have been so " minute in the account of this " unfortunate man, may receive " an apology from the peculi-" arity of his circumstances, " whether in reference to the " destructive principles he had " imbibed, the striking evidence " of his conversion, or the mag-" nitude of his crime. A news-" paper may be thought an im-" proper medium through which " to introduce moral disserta-" tions; but who that loves his " Maker, will be offended at our " deprecating the doctrines of "infidelity, which, while they " better world, unloose every " license of sporting with the "this mournful narrative as- "him, whom he knew to be an " principles all those evils he " of rebellion. " had been guilty of-and par-

9. " In Mr. Keeling's inter-"course with M'Innes, he " after its correction and ar- " greatly deplored the influence " of infidel principles upon his " conduct. He said, that he " never connected himself with " the Radicals; that he thought " too meanly of their spirit; "but he had deeply drank of "the essence of disaffection, " and was prepared to go any "lengths in resistance to Go-" vernment. It will be recol-"lected, that in January last, " M'Innes made an attempt to " escape out of the Castle: in " adverting to this circumstance, " he said, that if he had effected " his purpose, it was probable " many lives would have been "lost; that his first intention "country, or reverences his " was to assassinate Mr. Lloyd " of Stockport, and then Birch; " and he declared the pistol " actually fired at the latter, "deprive men of the hopes of a " was loaded with an intent to " kill the former: that he had "obligation of morality, and "been looking about for Mr. "give them the unrestrained "Lloyd that evening, but could " not find him; and afterwards "lives and property of their " meeting with Birch, he di-"fellow-men. The subject of " rected his vengeance against "cribed to the adoption of these " active agent in the suppression

"ticularly that which brought "man by birth, and was from him to the gallows." "man by birth, and was from

"the county of Down. Was |" death for burglary, who it is " brought up a Protestant; has " been in England about three " years; a very good-looking " young man, of about twenty-" five years of age; and was " said to be on the point of " marriage with a young woman " of Stockport, when he com-" mitted the crime, for which

" his life has been forfeited. 11. " On the night before " execution, M'Innes retired to | " say, that ' his Lordship was " rest about ten o'clock, and on "Mr. Keeling's visit in the "the happy change which had " morning at seven, he found him " occupied in writing. He ap-" peared placid and collected, " said he had had some refresh-"ing, comfortable rest, and that "his meditations had been de-" lightful. At ten o'clock, Mr. " Keeling accompanied M'Innes " to the Chapel in the Castle, " and joined with him in par-" taking of the Holy Commu-" nion, during which M'Innes " was observed to weep: and " shared in the criminality of " in explanation of this circum-" stance, said to Mr. K. after- " Whether upon his own motion, " wards, they were tears of joy. " Returning from the Chapel to " others, we know not, but at " the cell, prayer was again of- " this awful period he drew up " fered; and it may be interest- " and signed with his own "ing to observe, fhat in this act "hand, a declaration, purport-

" understood will suffer next " Saturday, was permitted to " join! this scene is represented " as very affecting. Nor ought "the circumstance we are just " going to mention, to be omit-" ted. Soon after eleven o'clock, " a clergyman came to M'Innes, " who stated, that he had been " expressly sent by the Bishop " of Chester to the prisoner, to " extremely gratified to hear of "taken place in his mind; that "he had been pleasingly af-" fected by the information; and " had sent his blessing by the " messenger.' "

12. " The hour now ap-"proached when the prisoner " had to leave the Castle. One " important affair was yet to be " completed. From the time of " his trial, he had constantly " affirmed, that Bruce had not " his attempt upon Birch's life. " or upon the suggestion of " of devotion, Thomas Miller, a " ing_" That no person what-" malefactor under sentence of " ever was connected with, or

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13. " M'Innis held a bible in " his hand during his progress "through the streets, in which " he unremittingly continued to " read, without taking any no-"tice of the surrounding multi-"tude. The portion of scrip-"ture on which his attention " was fixed, as recommended to " him by Mr. Keeling, was the " 27th chapter of St. Matthew's "gospel. That gentleman as-" sisted him in descending from " the cart, and on asking how "he felt his mind supported, "he answered, that he found "himself quite comfortable.-"About half an hour was oc-" cupied in the House of Cor-"rection before he ascended " the scaffold, during which he " preserved the utmost compo-" sure and firmness. Mr. Keel-" ing first ascended the drop, " and was followed by M'nnis, "assisted by another person. "Mr. Willan, chaplain, followed, " and read the service. In the " mean time, the former gentle-" man placed himself exactly in "front of M'Innis, as if with " a view of preventing discom-" posure of mind, from behold-" ing the vast concourse of peo-

" knew of his intention, of shoot- [" with him on the drop a few " minutes, reading to him from " the 23d chapter of Luke, the " short history of the penitent " thief, and encouraging his " hope in Jesus Christ. To the " last moment he continued to ex-" press his unshaken confidence " of themercy of the Redeemer. " It was expected that he would " address the people: on this sub-" ject Mr. Keeling had conversed " with him, and he said, that " he should be guided by his "feelings at the tine. All that " he said, just before the cap " was pulled over his face, was, " with a firm and audible voice, " Gentlemon, farewell.' After " his devotions were concluded, " he appeared in great haste to-" be gone; and before the hang-" man had time to lower the " drop, he had given the signal "by dropping his handker-" chief." Joiled to millrowny

until we have deteried deptilled In the first paragraph the writer seems to be aware of the surprise that his tale will naturally excite in the publicmind; and, like all those who have lies to palm upon the world for truth, he sets out with saying that his " authority is unquestionable." But this is not Mr. Keeling remained enough; especially when we

confessions, as we are in paragraph No. 7. It is not enough, nor nearly enough, to tell us, that the authority is unquestionable. This should be proved to us. We must not be satisfied that it was " a pious gentleman" who communicated it: for there are such things as " pious frauds." RAHAB, the harlot's example, wrong interpreted, lead to great errors and mischiefs! It is not enough to tell us, that Mr. KEBLING saw this and that, and heard this and that. We must know who this man is. We must have some vouchers for his vouchers. He may be a real corporeal being. or he may be an imaginary man. If a real man, he may be in his right senses; or he may be a half or a whole madman, whose rantings and reveries are wholly unworthy of belief. In short. until we have detailed certificates, that this Keeling is a man of sound mind, perfect veracity, and not an enemy to Reform, and until these certificates be signed by some one or more Reformers, this man's story, unsupported by other evidence, is not worth a straw; especially when we find no talk of any other witness to any part of the not to be wholly blind.

are threatened with a book of transactions, except the convict, Thomas Miller, who is now, we suppose, hanged!

> Paragraph No. 2 .- How came Keeling to be permitted to "follow the man to his cell?" Could any body else do this? Were MAGGENIS's friends allowed to do this? Was the poor fellow permitted to have his friends about him? We hear of no such thing; and yet, why not they follow him to his cell as well as this undescribed Mr. KEELING? Why was no friend from Stockport present? But, we shall have more to say about this bye-and-bye.—MAGGENIS blasphemed in a most horrid manner; and declared, that " the Almighty had neither the power to save or to destroy him!" This part of Keeling's story must be false. For, if MAG-GENIS was an Atheist, how came he to talk of an " Almighty?" And, if he believed in one that was almighty; that is to say, all-powerful; that is to say, having power to do all things; how could he believe, that that same being had " neither the power to save nor destroy him?" -Ah! Mr. Keeling, Mr. Keeling! Persons who tell tough stories ought not only to have good memories, but ought also

vict, , we no supreme power existed." ould ed. to ellow iends such they to nothing on the other side. ell as ING ? tockto soften! Nay, at this very shall this blas-" correct. he (Maggenis) was " lost for ever."-Now, reader, " the mark the richness of the culmsiness of this fabrication! Magim !" GENIS had, we are told, in pastory ragraph No. 10, "been brought MAGto be sure, and yet be brought that say, im?" ough

Paragraph No. 3.—Here we must have become an atheist by have the poor fellow an Atheist reasoning. He must have exaagain, and "resolved to leave mined the grounds of his old the world with the belief that and those of his new belief. No matter how he did this: he must Resolved! What a thing for any have done it, and especially as man to say! How incredible he was so firmly fixed as to his upon the face of it! It is a sort new creed, as to be "resolved" of language that no man ever to die in it, and that, too, after makes use of. It was, in this he had been expostulated with case, something monstrous. It by this surprizing Mr. KBELING. showed a determination to listen |-Now, is it to be believed, that, in the short space of one And after this, at the very same visit, infidel principles, so firmly interview, this same man began rooted, would be shaken? And, then, what is the result? Why, interview, he admitted, " that MAGGENIS says. " if your doc-"if Mr. Keeling's doctrine was trine is correct. I am lost for ever." The deuce he was! Why, it was just the contrary! For Mr. Keeling's doctrine told him, that he might be saved, if he would repent even at the gallows. So that, if the conversion up a protestant." So he might, had taken place, the senses of the convert must have taken up an atheist; for a protestant their leave of him.—He was merely means, not a catholic. softened and shaken, it seems, But, it is clear, that it must have by certain " evidences adduced been meant, that Mr. KEELING's by Mr. Keeling." We shall "convert" was brought up in a have these, probably, bye-andbelief in the Protestant Christian bye, in print. They must have faith. Well, he had become an been extremely efficacious, and atheist. He could not have be- also perfectly new to Maggenis; come such without reasoning for, if he had ever heard of them upon the subject. Reasoning before, they would, of course, falsely, if you please; but, he have had no effect now; whereas

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it appears, that they had a very | woman of Stockport." What wonderful effect; and, there- was her name? Come, come! fore, I hope, that we shall have Tell us her name! None of your them in print, as, I dare say shuffling! But, I had forgotten we shall, Mr. Keeling appearing to ask, by what authority was not to be a man to hide his this private letter opened, kept, candle under a bushel.

nothing here worthy of particular remark. The progress of as responsible for the authenthe conversion is easy and na- ticity of the letter. Whether it tural; and it appears all to look was lawful, just, merciful, to like real life! In the preceding paragraph, the infidel principles is not the question that I am were shaken. In this they are staggered. The Infidel is next this: is a letter, thus pretended made to acknowledge that he to have been obtained, and thus may possibly be in error. He used, to be relied on as genuine! is then brought on his knees. He next desires correction. At last he weeps; and his ghostly friend leaves him to pray. All this was very well managed by Keeling, let Keeling be who or In short, I shall never believe what he may; and, in this place, all we have to regret is, that Keeling did not think of providing any body to be witness of facts so very interesting and of effects which must be thought extremely marvellous.

Paragraph, No. 5.—The letter, mentioned here, I have not. I have lost the paper, in which it was published. Nor does it signify. It was, we are here without even any pretended told, " addressed to a young consent of the party writing or

and printed? Answer that ques-Paragraph, No. 4.-We have tion. Answer that; and then we shall know who to look to open, keep, and print this letter discussing. The question is Was the letter ever sent to the young woman? She, we must suppose, was acquainted with the hand-writing. What so easy as to get her testimony? in the authenticity of this letter, until I have the certificate of the person that it was addressed to, that it is in the well known and even the sworn-to handwriting of MAGGENIS himself. What! Are we to take things, brought forth in this way, as authentic documents? A letter, said to have been written in a prison, no witness being present; and, not sent according to its address; opened, kept, printed

certain. Paragraph, No. 6.—Having, the former paragraphs, brought the "Radical Infidel" to weep, Mr. Keeling here lays him " prostrate on the floor of " his cell, weeping, bitterly re-" proaching himself with his in-"fidelity and wickedness, and, "finding him a true penstent, "directs him accordingly;" but, in words, that I will not profane by a repetition of them! But, it is the beginning of this paragraph, which merits our notice, and, I may add, our indignation. Here the profligate publisher says: " However the their political and civil rights. "infidel or the profane may be "disposed to treat the scene " above described as the vision-" ary frenzy of fanaticism or " delusion, WE dare not deny " Divine Interposition, vouch-" safed in an extraordinary " manner on an extraordinary "occasion." If this be not blasphemy, the word has a meaning now-a-days which it never had before. Where is the evidence (even supposing the facts to be true) of a special inposed before the shot was fired many things; but they have too

the party addressed! If such a at Birch? Would he not have document be to be taken as evi- prevented the deed, and also dence of any thing other than prevented MAGGENIS from beof the impudence and profligacy ing an atheist at all? If God of the publishers, there is an end chose to interpose specially, even late, what need was there and mens' characters and lives of the offices of Keeling? Is it must, in future, depend on more not to offer an insult to God to assert, that he must have been fellow-worker with Keeling !-Oh, no! Mr. CHESTER Cou-RANT and Mr. LONDON COURIER, I (whatever the infidel or the profane may do) am far from treating the pretended scenes as the "visionary frenzy of " fanaticism;" I treat them as the result of a deep-laid contrivance of political corruption and roguery, carried on by matchless impudence, and intended to answer the worst of all possible purposes; namely, falsely to fix the charge of infidelity and a love of blood-hed on all those who are contending for

Paragraph, No. 7 .-- These paragraphs is all pith. There we have the whole scheme developed! The confessions of Maggenis are to come forth. " to it the genuine marks of They are in the possession of Mr. Keeling, and when "cor-" rected and arranged by a " pious Clergyman of the Esta-" blishment, are to be given to " the world in the form of a " pamphlet!" Oh, brave! Now, I will bet the Courier what it pleases, that no Clergyman of the Church ever puts his name terposition of God, upon this to this pamphlet; and that no occasion? If God had youch such person ever suffers his safed to interpose directly and name to be used as the compiler, specially, in the case of this or editor, of this pamphlet. The man, would he not have inter- Clergy of the Church will do

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much wisdom to do such barefaced things as this. - The object of the pamphlet will be, as have the oaths of those who saw is, indeed, here set forth, to reclaim, and to convince of their errors, those whom MAGGENIS had wished, which he confessed to be great multitudes!---This may be very well; but, in the first place, these "multitudes" must be made to believe, that Maggennis wrote the thing; and this, I believe, will be very difficult indeed! The whole terms upon this however; for, as to the arguments against Atheism, t would be hard indeed, if Mr. Keeling, who converted Ma-GENNIS, could not, in his own name, furnish as good, and even better, than Maggenis himself. Or, indeed, the " pious Clergy-"man of the Establishment," who is to be MAGENNIS's editor, could, doubtless, send forth matter of his own far more powerful than that of MAG-GENIS. Aye; but, then, as his "judicious adviser" observed. " the declarations of a DYING " MAN would be likely to have "influence with those whose " minds he had contaminated." Aye, aye! That is the nick! But, then, Mr. Keeling, the world is now got to be too cunning to believe, without excellent proof, all, or any part, of what is related about the declarations of " dying men:" because, as the world now knows very well, dying men have been belied even more than living men. So that, in order for your forth-coming pamphlet to have the smallest chance of influence, ment, by long silence, by almost except in the way of exciting incessant darkness, by low diet, ridicule and contempt, it must be reduced to imbecility. I re-

come forth with proofs as clear as the noon-day sun. We must him write it, or, who, at least. saw it in his possession, and resh from his pen, and who, with their own ears, heard him avow the writing of it. And these persons must not be keepers or turnkeys or any persons in employ about the jail. They must be, too, persons, not hostile to Reform; or, at least, some of them, or one of them For, I, for one, shall must. think it extremely strange, that MAGGENIS'S former friends were kept away from him (if that were so) after his conversion, when there was any possible reason for permitting him to see and converse with them; because, it must have occurred to you, that their testimony as to his conversion would be the best in the world.—" Declarations " of dying men" are not so greedily swallowed as they used to be. People of any sense think, now-a-days, that the opinions, which a man avows in the prime of his intellect, are worthy of more attention than those, which he may profess in his dotage, in his second childhood, or under the distracting and maddening torments of disease. Men on the rack have often confessed the commission of acts which they never committed. They have said, in the delirium of pain, things which they never meant to say. And, though there be no acute suffering, a man may, by solitary confines clear e must ho saw least. , and who, d him And keepersons They t hosleast. them shall that were that esion, ssible o see beed to as to best tions t so used ense opithe rthy iose, his ood, and ase. conacts ted. ium ver 1g.p , a

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member the affecting picture, drawn by Sir FRANCIS BUR-DETT, of the prisoners he visited, under Aris, in the cells of Cold Bath Fields, I never heard him mention the thing but once; but I have nover forgotten it. He said, that they had nothing about them but their size, which seemed to partake of manhood; that their looks, their voices, their expressions, their ideas, all were those of children of seven or eight years old. And, indeed, who can doubt that such must be the effect of such treatment, if long continued? I, therefore, for one, pay no attention at all to the words of " dying men" as far as relates to matters of opinion; and not always much attention as far as relates to matters of fact, if they have been long in solitary confinement and on low diet .-So, Mr. KEELING, you see, that there will be something to do, in order to make us not laugh at your forthcoming pamphlet. Cheer up, however, for though you will do, perhaps, nothing else, you are sure to give us a little innocent amusement, especially if you should have the assistance of the " pious Clergyman of the Establishment." What think you of having the thing retouched by Mr. CAN-NING? That gentleman, that "Right Honourable Person," understands the art and mystery of placarding, which would be a great thing in your case. Hoping that you will thank me for must go through with. have died; and yet, who can

Paragraph No. 8 .-- The newspaper gentlemen speak for themselves in this paragraph and the two following. They drop Mr. Keeling's works, and go on to draw conclusions of a practi-Having promulcal nature. gated Mr. Keeling's account, they assume it all to be true; they assume that MAGGENIS was an infidel; that that made him wicked; that that made him kill Birch, or, at least, shoot him; and then they rush, without more ceremony, to this conclusion, that infidels are always ready " to sport with the lives " and PROPERTY of their fellow-" men." When they give us proof of one single instance, in which a known and avowed infidel has been either murderer or robber, I will say, that there may be room for believing, that these newspaper gentlemen are not quite the foolishest, and, at the same time, the most impudent and base of mankind. They pretend to a greater regard for religion, but its enemies (if there really be any such) cannot possibly rest the defence of its character and utility upon worse ground than these men rest them on. For, it is notorious, that every murderer and robber that we hear of in common life, goes out of the world a penitent; and, we well know, that they have all been professors of religion. And then, as to the influence of priests, we have this most troublesome fact, that the this hint, I now proceed with Quakers have no priests, and my commentary, which, how- that Quakers are never hanged. ever tedious I may make it, I How many hundreds of Quakers

pretend, that any Quaker ever GENIS, and I hope that Mr. repented him of having, all his Keeling will make this a matlife long, rejected with disdain ter of explanation and developeall instrumentality of priests, ment in the forthcoming pamand of religious teachers of any phlet. And I hope, too, that description? This shows how foolish is the attempt to mix up religion with politics, and to endeavour to make the world believe that Radical and Infidel mean the same thing.

Paragraphs No. 9 and 10, are remarkable only for their stupidity. A sneer at the Radical want of spirit, and a silly compliment to one Lloyd, a how the thing will end. justice, constitute the essence of these paragraphs: in the last of which, however, the " young woman at Stockport" is again mentioned; but, as before, her name is carefully kept out of sight.

Paragraph No. 11.—Mr. Keeling comes on again here, and gives us, at any rate, something more than mere stupidity. The circumstance of "blessing," or, as the Church calls it, the Benediction, is of a nature too interesting to be overlooked without my incurring the charge of negligence, if not of want of reverence. It is something rare, too, I believe. The "blessing' was, it appears, brought to the jail by "a clergyman." It must have been brought to the jail; because it is distinctly declared, that the Bishop sent it. I wish the details had been a little more full here. It would have been edifying to us to have had full information as to the ceremony upon this occasion. I, for my own part, should very much like to know something of the effect which the episcopal bene-

we shall be favoured with the name of the reverend Clergyman, who was the bearer of the Bishop's benediction. There is a great shyness as to names in this narrative of Mr. Keeling, which is not easily accounted for, if we suppose the motives of the narrator to have been good. However, we shall see

Paragraph No. 12, is of real practical importance: for, if the " words of a dying man" are to have the effect of converting multitudes from the errors of their present opinions, surely they ought to be certain and complete in their effect as to the innocence of BRUCE. And this innocence, complete innocence, entire absence of all guilt-in this man, is most positively and solemnly declared by the "true penitent" and " firm believer," MAGGENNIS; and that, too, mind, after he had received the Bishop's benediction! Now, if this part of his " dying words" be not true, how are we to believe that any of the rest of his "dying words" are true! And if it be true that BRUCE was altogether innocent, what must the evidence have been on which he was convicted? However, either he was innocent or he was not: therefore he ought not to suffer at all, in any way; or all that has been said about MAGGENIS'S confessions must pass for a desdiction produced upon MAG- picable lie. If MAGGENIS'S

words, or pretended words, be paper gentry step forward to believed by the government, they must pardon BRUCE? and, if they do not believe that part of his words, which it so deeply concerns them to inquire into, we Radicals shall, surely, pay no attention whatever to any other part of his words, whether they be real or pretended. I, for my part, am willing to abide by this test: if BRUCE be pardoned, freely pardoned, and thus declared to be a man wholly innocent; I will then allow that the whole of the story may be true: but if any punishment, though ever so slight, be inflicted on BRUCE, I shall say, that the whole of the story must be false, and intended solely to delude the people.

Paragraph No. 13.---We now come to the close of the drama; and a most curious close it is! Mr. Keeling stuck to his convert to the last, it seems. He ascended the gallows drop before him, while "another person" (no name again) "assisted" Maggenis from behind. What assistance he could want it is hard for one, who never was hanged, to say. However, being all on the drop, what did Mr. Keeling do? Why, "he placed himself exactly in front of Maggenis!" The deuce he did! And why? For what reason did he do this? Why, (strange to relate!) "as if to prevent discomposure of mind from bepeople!" Now, mind, reader,

fill up the space. But, was there ever, in such a case, such conduct before? Why did Mr. Keeling place himself so exactly in front? Why did he suppose, that the sight of a vast multitude would discompose MAG-GENIS's mind? This, this, this was the time of all times, and this was the place of all places, for Maggenis to make his confessions! Was it not, reader? And, can you believe, that, if the former part of the narrative had been true, that Mr. Keeling would not have been uncommonly anxious to get MAG-GENIS to make his confessions here? Here was the man himself to speak; here would have been the real and undeniable "dying words;" and here were "the multitudes" whom the dying convert was so anxious to undeceive, and to undeceive whom he had been so busy in writing the materials of a pamphlet. And yet (surprising to relate!) Mr. Keeling, his "judicious adviser,' 'took care upon this important occasion, " to " place himself exactly in front of MAGGENIS!" And (still more surprizing!) MAGGENIS himself says not a word about his past religious errors; but goes off with merely saying, in a firm and andible voice, "FARE-WELL, GENTLEMEN!" And, not a single word about religion! Not a single word in the holding the vast concourse of way of endeavour to repair the "immense mischief," which he it is not Mr. Keeling who speaks had confessed he had done by here, and gives this strange rea- "instilling his infidel principles son for his conduct. He slips on into the minds of multitudes!" one side for a bit, and the news- | Here were multitudes standing

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before him; and yet, eager as crime. He pever said in court, he was to undeceive them; that he was sorry for what he anxious as he was on this score; solemnly as he had declared that this was the only thing that now weighed heavily upon his mind; not a single word does he say about it! But, off he goes, saying, in a firm and audible voice. " FAREWELL, GENTLE -MEN!"

Now, what are we to gather from this story upon the whole? Some parts of it must be false; others are wholly improbable; all that we know contradicts all that we are told, or, at least, corroborates no part of it. The man's friends have no access to him; his pretended letter is open, kept back, and made use of by his keepers and others; we have no witnesses to corroborate Keeling. And, if we are to give credit to any part of this story, except as far as it corresponds with the man's open confessions in court, then there is not a moment's safety for the character, or the life, of any man.

MAGENNIS made no open avowal about religion, first or last. He told Judge Warren, that his sentence would be a very "good cure for a spinning in the head." But, what had that to do with religion? It the fear of it, even in cases showed, that he was not afraid of death; that he was ready to meet his fate bravely; and this, we have always been taught, is ference in men's opinions as to a mark of firm belief in Chris- the real nature of the act comtranity. we, then, to suppose, that he part of the punishment; namely, was an Atheist when he was the shame; and, when once this condemned? We have, besides, is removed from the mind of no proof, that he confessed him- the sufferers, his relations and

had done. He did not say so even at the gallows. He said, and most generously said, that he shot Birch; but, for any proof that we have, this was the full extent of his confessions.

It is, therefore, wholly uncertain, whether he was a Christian, or an Infidel. If the latter, we have an Infidel voluntarily giving up his own life to save that of an innocent man, who was neither a relation, friend, or acquaintance; which would show, that infidelity and the most sublime morality may exist in the same mind. If he was a Christian, Christianity has the honor of this most magnificent instance of moral virtue; but, then, the Courier and the CHESTER COURANT, and all their assistant crew are most malignant calumniators.

And, what will be the natural effect of this execution and of all that preceded and produced it? To deter and intimidate? Not at all. To believe this would be to give the lie to all history, and to set at nought what plain common sense dictates to every The frequency of the mind. punishment of death takes away where the crime is against natural justice; and, in cases, where there may be a wide dif-What ground have mitted, it removes the far greater self to have been guilty of a friends, the punishment has no

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rific thing, loses its terrors by raging of the sea is nothing to sailors. A soldier is quite a difbloody campaign from what he was at the beginning of it. Accustom a people to behold the shedding of blood; and they will soon be a bloody people. Death is in itself terrible only from report. It is less painful than a minute's tooth-ache. Besides, be it what it may, it is a thing that MUST COME; and, if a man reason only for himself, must he not wish to avoid the manifold miseries of old age and second childhood? To be sentenced to endure years of torment of body, is surely a more severe sentence than to die before those years of torment come. It is then, surely, less severe to be sentenced to a chance of early death, than to the almost certainty of years of pain, feebleness, and cruel mortification.

Taking mankind in general, there are so many inducements to wish to live, that few will, if they can avoid it, expose themselves to the smallest chance of death. But, if these inducements become comparatively few; and if, at the same time, men be, in great numbers, actuated by vengeful feelings, the punishment of death very soon loses its powers of intimidation, especially if it be frequently redying lips, persist that they have tion and abhorrence!

effect at all in the way of de- done right, instead of wrong. When things came to this pass Death, like every other ter- the laws have lost their intended power, that of making example; being frequently seen, The that of preventing future acts by punishing the commission of past acts; that of deterring ferent man at the end of a men by a certainty of the dishonour that they will bring on themselves, their friends, their parents, their wives and children. And it may be truly said, that, if a son or a father, of good moral character, be not ashamed of the sufferer's death, his death tends to injure, rather than benefit, the government under which that death has been inflicted.

Far otherwise appear to think the Courier, the New Times, and Country Papers, who are all a sort of literary Pandours, that measure their merits by the number of heads that they can bring in, tied to their saddles and their horses manes. These men seem to delight in the shedding of the blood of those whom they call Radicals. They seem to think, that any thing may be done to us, without the smallest regard to law: and yet, they complain that we hate them! Not content with calumnies on the living, they pursue the dead. They are even more inexorable than death itself. From the moment a man, accused of a political offence, enters a prison, they begin to assail him; and they pursue him with every species of calumny, until death, in some shape or other, has closed his eyes. And yet they peated, and more especially bitterly complain that they are when the dying men, with their objects of our hatred, detesta-

COBBETT's PARLIAMENTARY RECISTER.

The Number, which is published this day, is the Second. No. I. was published last Saturday. One Number will be published every succeeding Saturday, during he Session, when the Volume will be completed, and it will contain as many Numbers as the Session will last Weeks, and no more.
The price of each Number will be Sixpence; and the Work may be had at the same time and place as the Political Register; being printed and

published by the same persons. We mean to see, whether, for once, there cannot be made a really convenient and useful Volume of this kind, containing, at full length, every debute; a clear account of every regular proceeding; a minute of all minor transactions; and excluding that immense mass of informal and casual talk, which tends to no end, but is lost in a state of evaporation. Notices of motions, interchange of compliments, asking questions, (tho' a point worth attention now and then arises out of them) are not worth recording verbatim. They only swell out a volume, encumber it with repetitions, and produce confusion. There are some subjects of debate, such, for instance, as the Wool-Duty, the Com-mercial Restrictions, the Use of Machinery, the Civil List, and others that will and must come forward, which demand great attention in all the stages of their progress; and, it will often be deemed necessary to subjoin Notes, in order to explain things not familiar to every one. Principles are often broached, which it may be thought proper to notice without delay; and, as to facts, the Members of Parliament are not always infallible. In short, it is the intention of the Editor to make this a Volume, which may be of use to himself, which he never yet met with in any volume of Parliamentary Debutes. He has another object, and that is, to enable the public to know what the Parliament really does, which it never did, during any Session within his memory.

TO THE HUMANE

position of the Public, it is that of the Widows, and Wives, and Children of the Men recently executed, and those transported for life, on the charge of conspiracy. Here are nine unoffending Women, and twenty-three Children, left wholly destitute of the means of existence, suddenly and unexpectedly plunged into the deepest misery, and bereft of even the usual consolations in cases of death of Husbands and Fathers. Some of the Women are far advanced in a family way, and one is actually confined. Women have generally feeling for Women under similar circumstances; and it is hoped that the divine precept, "to succour the widow and the fatherless," will not now be effaced from the public mind, and especially the female mind, by any thing like a vindictive feeling towards the Husbands and Fathers of the unhappy objects, in whose behalf this appeal is made, --- In order that the humanelydisposed may have it in their power to be themselves the ministers of their charity, the names and places of abode of the distressed objects are hereunto subjoined :---

Mrs. Thistlewood, No. 40, Stan-hope-street, Clare-market, one son. Mrs. Davidson, No. 20, Cow-cross,

West Smithfield, six Children.

Mrs. Ings, 15, Gun-street, Unionstreet, Spital-fields, four Children. Mrs. Tidd, No. 1, Bell-court, Gray's

Inn-lane, two Children.

Mrs. BRUNT, No. 89, King's-street, Soho, one Child.

Mrs. STRANGE, No. 3, Rose and Crown-court, Shoe-lane, two Children. Mrs. BRADBURN, St. Giles's Work-house, (confined) three Children.

Mrs. Wilson, No. 11, Fox-place, Old Lord's Cricket-ground, Paddington, one Child.

Mrs. HARRISON, No. 6, Little Park-street, New Road, Paddington, three Children.

Subscriptions will be received at Messrs. Clement and Benbow's, opposite St. Clement's Church, Strand; Mr. West's, 54, Wych-street, Drury-lane; Mr. Davidson's, 10, Duke-street, West Smithfield; Mr. Tinkler's, Homerstreet, Crawford-street, Portman-sq. at Mr. Griffin's, 10, Middle-row, Hoiborn, Secretary; Mr. Whitaker's, 18, Union-street, Borough, Treasurer; Mr. for the compassionate feelings and for the exercise of the truly charitable dis-